

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 206570

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CH, PINT

SUBJECT: CHINA'S 11TH PARTY CONGRESS
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1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF INR REPORT NO. 847, "CHINA'S 11TH
PARTY CONGRESS," DATED AUGUST 29, 1977.

2. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE COM-
MUNIST PARTY, WHICH MET AUGUST 12-18, SIGNALLED AN END TO
A DECADE OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES THAT UNDERMINED PARTY
AND GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACIES, CAUSED SERIOUS UNREST AND
FACTIONALISM, AND OFTEN DISRUPTED PRODUCTION. HUA KUO-FENG,
YEH CHIEN-YING, AND TENG HSIAO-P'ING GAVE IMPORTANT
ADDRESSES THAT EXTOLLED MAO'S "LINE," AND THUS SANCTIFIED

THE SUCCESSION OF HUA TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP. THEY ALSO SIGNIFICANTLY REVISED THE LINE, HOWEVER, TO STRESS MORE ORDERLINESS, UNITY, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

3. THE NEW PARTY LEADERSHIP ELECTED BY THE CONGRESS CONTAINED FEW SURPRISES AND REFLECTS THE RETURN TO PROMINENCE OF PROFESSIONAL BUREAUCRATS AND THE MILITARY. ITS COMPOSITION ALSO CLEARLY INDICATES THE REGIME'S CONCERN FOR CONVEYING A SENSE OF LEGITIMACY AND RATIONALISM TO POLITICAL PROCESSES, PARTICULARLY THOSE DEALING WITH ADMISSION TO AND ADVANCEMENT WITHIN THE PARTY.

4. CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDERWENT A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW THAT REVEALED NO CHANGES FROM THE POLICY ESTABLISHED BY MAO AND CHOU IN THE EARLY 1970S. CHINA WILL CONTINUE TO CRITICIZE SOVIET "REVISIONISM," FOSTER GREATER UNITY AMONG "THIRD WORLD" NATIONS AGAINST SUPERPOWER IMPERIALISM, AND SEEK CLOSER TIES WITH THE US UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

5. THE STANDING COMMITTEE--THE PARTY'S TOP LEADERSHIP BODY--NOW INCLUDES ECONOMIC SPECIALIST LI HSIEN-NIEN AND SECURITY CHIEF WANG TUNG-HSING IN ADDITION TO HUA, YEH, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND TENG, A LINEUP THAT APPEARS BALANCED AND MAY PROVE STABLE DESPITE THE DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS OF HUA AND TENG. MANIFESTING AN ALMOST EMBARRASSED AWARENESS OF THE EFFECTS OF PAST TURBULENCE, THE LEADERSHIP NOW SEEMS INTENT ON AVOIDING RIVALRIES AND ON DELIVERING ON ITS STATED GOALS OF SOCIAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. END SUMMARY

6. BEGIN TEXT. CHINA'S 11TH PARTY CONGRESS WAS CONVENED FROM AUGUST 12-18 TO FILL THE RANKS OF A LEADERSHIP DECIMATED BY DEATHS AND PURGES, AND TO CONFIRM OFFICIALLY THE MAIN POLICY DIRECTIONS SET IN MOTION BY THE REGIME LAST YEAR AFTER THE FALL OF THE RADICALS. FOREMOST AMONG THESE GOALS WERE POLITICAL STABILITY, PARTY CONSOLIDATION AND RECTIFICATION, AND RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IMPLICITLY, THE CONGRESS WAS ALSO CONFRONTED WITH THE TASK OF DEFINING THE LEGACY OF MAO, WHO IN THE PAST HAD SIDED WITH THE "GANG OF FOUR" IN OPPOSITION TO THESE POLICIES, BUT WHO NEVERTHELESS HAD CHOSEN HUA KUO-FENG AS HIS SUCCESSOR.

7. ADDRESSES WERE GIVEN BY CHINA'S TOP THREE LEADERS, PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG (PARTY WORK REPORT), VICE-CHAIRMEN YEH CHIEN-YING (REPORT ON CONSTITUTIONAL REVISIONS) AND TENG HSIAO-P'ING (CLOSING SPEECH). THE TONE SET BY THE ADDRESSES REFLECTED CONTINUED BROAD AGREEMENT ON THE COMPROMISES REACHED EARLIER THIS YEAR WHICH BROUGHT BACK TENG, CONFIRMED HUA'S PRIMACY IN THE PARTY LINEUP, AND ESTABLISHED THE PARTY'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRIORITIES.

8. THE LEADERSHIP

9. THE NEW POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE LINEUP
ANNOUNCED BY PEKING MANIFESTED A RETURN TO PROMINENCE OF
PROFESSIONAL BUREAUCRATS AND THE MILITARY, AND THE DISAP-
PEARANCE OF LEFTISTS AND "MASS ORGANIZATION" REPRESENTA-
TIVES WHO GAINED POWER AT THE 9TH AND 10TH PARTY
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CONGRESSES. IT ALSO REFLECTED THE REGIME'S CONCERN FOR
REESTABLISHING A SENSE OF PREDICTABILITY AND RATIONALISM
TO POLITICAL PROCESSES.

10. HUA WAS UNEQUIVOCALLY ENDORSED AS THE PARTY'S LEADER,
AND HE DELIVERED THE MAJOR ADDRESS. HOWEVER, THE RECENTLY
REHABILITATED TENG HSIAO-P'ING, NOW NO. 3 IN THE PARTY'S
HIERARCHY, ALSO PERFORMED MAJOR ASSIGNMENTS AT THE
CONGRESS, ACTING AS PRESIDING OFFICER AND DELIVERING THE
CLOSING ADDRESS--TASKS PERFORMED BY MAO AT PREVIOUS
CONGRESSES.

11. TENG'S ROLE AND THE RETURN TO POWER OF MANY OF HIS
SUPPORTERS SERVED TO VINDICATE BOTH THE MAN AND HIS PRO-
GRAMS, AND SIGNALLED THAT HIS PRESENCE WILL BE STRONGLY
FELT IN PEKING'S POLICY FORMULATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME,
TENG DOES NOT DOMINATE THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. THERE ARE
PROBABLY AT LEAST AN EQUAL NUMBER OF THE NEW POLITBURO
MEMBERS WHOSE PRIMARY LOYALTIES TEND TOWARD HUA OR YEH.

12. ROUNDING OUT THE NEW POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE,
THE PARTY'S HIGHEST RULING BODY, ARE LI HSIEN-NIEN AND
WANG TUNG-HSING. LI, CHINA'S FOREMOST ECONOMIC EXPERT AND
CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF THE LATE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI, WILL
LIKELY PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN CHINA'S MODERNIZATION PRO-
GRAM. WANG'S POSITION OF INTERNAL SECURITY CHIEF, AND HIS
PROMINENTLY FEATURED TASK AT THE CONGRESS OF CHECKING
DELEGATES' CREDENTIALS, INDICATE A LIKELY ROLE FOR HIM OF
PARTY POLICEMAN. IN THAT CAPACITY HE WILL HAVE A POTEN-
Tially POWERFUL ROLE IN THE PARTY'S EFFORTS TOWARD RECTI-
FICATION AND LEADERSHIP BUILDING.

13. IN CONTRAST TO THE LEADERSHIP LINEUP OF THE 9TH AND
10TH PARTY CONGRESSES, THE CURRENT LIST OF POLITBURO AND
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CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS EMPHASIZES SELECTION FOR PROVEN
MERIT, NOT REVOLUTIONARY ZEAL. THE LEADERSHIP CLEARLY
HAS SOUGHT TO REINSTITUTIONALIZE A SENSE OF ORDERLY
ADVANCEMENT AND LEGITIMACY IN THE SELECTION PROCESS.
POLITBURO POSITIONS ARE NOW INTENDED TO SYMBOLIZE REWARDS

FOR HIGH ACHIEVEMENT, REWARDS NOT TO BE GIVEN OR WITHDRAWN ARBITRARILY.

14. THUS, OF THE REMAINING 17 MEMBERS OF THE PREVIOUS POLITBURO, ALL BUT ONE (WU KWEI-HSIEN, AN ALTERNATE MEMBER) APPEAR ON THE NEW LIST. WU, A "MODEL WORKER" WHO ROSE TO PROMINENCE AT THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS, EVIDENCED FEW LEADERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS. HER OUSTER FROM THE POLITBURO (BUT NOT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE) SERVED TO EMPHASIZE THAT ONLY "LEGITIMATE," I.E., DEMONSTRABLY QUALIFIED PERSONS, CAN HOLD POLITBURO POSITIONS.

15. THE REINSTATEMENT OF THREE FORMER POLITBURO MEMBERS WHO LOST THEIR POSITIONS BY 1969 (ULANFU, NIEH JUNG-CHEN, AND HSU HSIANG-CH'EN) REPUDIATES THE OFTEN ARBITRARY SELECTION AND REJECTION PROCESSES OF THE 9TH AND 10TH CONGRESSES, AND UNDERLINES THE PRESENT CONCERN FOR LEGITIMACY.

16. THE PROMOTION OF TWO OF THE FOUR FORMER ALTERNATE MEMBERS (SU CHEN-HUA AND NI CHIH-FU) ALSO TESTIFIES TO THE REGIME'S DESIRE TO EMPHASIZE ORDERLY ADVANCEMENT. AS CANDIDATES FOR FULL MEMBERSHIP IN THEIR FORMER POSITIONS AS ALTERNATES, THE TWO WOULD HAVE EXPECTED TO BE PROMOTED. THE FAILURE OF SAIFUDIN, MINORITY GROUP REPRESENTATIVE, TO ADVANCE IS PROBABLY EXPLAINED BY THE PRIOR CLAIM OF ULANFU--ALSO A MINORITY GROUP REPRESENTATIVE--TO FULL MEMBERSHIP.

17. THE MERITOCRATIC NATURE OF THE SELECTION PROCESS IS DEMONSTRATED BY THE BACKGROUNDS OF THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITBURO. THE FIVE NEW APPOINTEES APPEAR TO OWE THEIR PROMOTIONS TO HAVING ACHIEVED TOP POSITIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE FIELDS OF EXPERTISE (FANG I: SCIENCE; YU CH'IU-LI: PLANNING; CHANG T'ING-FA: AIR FORCE; KENG PIAO: FOREIGN AFFAIRS; AND P'ENG CH'UNG: PROVINCIAL POLITICS). THE SAME CAN BE SAID OF THE TWO NEW ALTERNATES, CHAO TZU-YANG (PROVINCIAL POLITICS) AND CH'EN MU-HUA (WHO CLEARLY SYMBOLIZED THE MERIT PROCESS BY WHICH WOMEN "SHOULD" ADVANCE, IN CONTRAST TO CHIANG CH'ING AND THE DROPPED WU KWEI-HSIEN).

18. THE 11TH CONGRESS' EMPHASIS ON ORDERLY ADVANCEMENT UP THE HIERARCHY UNDOUBTEDLY DRAWS STRONG SUPPORT FROM ALL THE POLITBURO MEMBERS. AFTER THE TURMOIL OF THE PAST 11 YEARS, THE PARTY, ARMY, AND GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACIES NEED TO KNOW THERE IS A PREDICTABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOB PERFORMANCE AND ADVANCEMENT OR DISMISSAL. THE NEW POLITBURO APPOINTMENTS HONOR VETERANS WHO HAVE WORKED THEIR WAY UP, OR WERE UNFAIRLY DISMISSED AFTER WORKING

THEIR WAY UP EARLIER.

19. THE GROUP OF VETERANS AT THE TOP IS NOW TOO BROAD TO BE TIED TO TENG ALONE, THOUGH ALL SHARE SIMILAR CONCERNS ABOUT WHERE CHINA SHOULD GO, AND NONE BEARS ANY LOVE FOR THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. OF THE NEW POLITBURO APPOINTMENTS, ONLY CHAO TZU-YANG, ULANFU, AND PERHAPS CHANG T'ING-FA SEEM TO HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY LINKED TO TENG OR HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES. OTHER NEW APPOINTMENTS APPEAR TO BE LINKED TO YEH AND LI HSIEN-NIEN. TENG WILL HAVE YEH'S AND LI'S SUPPORT ON MANY ISSUES, BUT THE THREE CANNOT BE CONSIDERED TO BE A UNIFIED VETERAN CORE. THE POTENTIAL SPACE BETWEEN TENG ON ONE HAND AND YEH AND LI ON THE OTHER WILL BE IMPORTANT TO HUA, WHO THOUGH APPARENTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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AGREED UPON BY ALL AS THE CHOSEN SUCCESSOR TO MAO, REMAINS WITHOUT ANY REAL POWER BASE OF HIS OWN.

20. THE LEADERSHIP, AFTER 11 YEARS OF POLITICAL TURBULENCE, APPEARS INTERESTED IN FOCUSING ON ITS PROCLAIMED GOALS OF SOCIAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. IN HIS SHORT CLOSING ADDRESS TENG MAY WELL HAVE SUMMED UP THE SPIRIT OF THE CONGRESS. HE CALLED ON HIS COLLEAGUES TO RENOUNCE "BOASTING" AND "ARROGANCE," AND "FACE UP TO THE REALITY OF MANY PROBLEMS TO BE SURMOUNTED."

21. DOMESTIC POLICY

22. IN HIS REPORT ON PARTY WORK, HUA WENT TO GREAT--AND SOMETIMES TORTUOUS--LENGTHS TO PRAISE MAO'S CONTRIBUTIONS AND TO CLEAR HIM OF ANY ASSOCIATION WITH THE RADICALS. QUOTING SELECTIVELY, HUA "PROVED" THAT MAO:

(A)--LAUNCHED THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND SUBSEQUENT CAMPAIGNS SPECIFICALLY TO RID THE PARTY OF LIU SHAO-CH'I, LIN PIAO, AND THE "GANG OF FOUR"; AND

(B)--APPROVED OF TENG AND OTHER VETERAN CADRES DENOUNCED BY THE RADICALS, AND OF THEIR POLICIES OF STABILITY, UNITY, AND ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

23. HUA CAPPED THIS REMARKABLE HISTORICAL REVISION WITH A DECLARATION THAT THE PURGE OF THE "GANG" HAD BROUGHT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION TO A "TRIUMPHANT CONCLUSION."

24. ALL THREE OF CHINA'S TOP LEADERS SET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS CHINA'S FOREMOST PRIORITY FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HUA CALLED FOR A "NEW LEAP FORWARD" FOLLOWING THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL MODELS OF TACHAI AND TACH'ING. UNDERSCORING THIS GOAL, THE REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION CONFIDENTIAL

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FOR THE FIRST TIME CONTAINS AN AMENDMENT EXPLICITLY ENDORSING CHOU EN-LAI'S GOAL OF ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY.

25. ALSO HIGH AMONG THE PRIORITIES ARE PARTY AND LEADERSHIP BUILDING, CONSOLIDATION, AND RECTIFICATION. WITH TOP CENTRAL, PROVINCIAL, AND MILITARY POSITIONS NOW IN THE HANDS OF THE MODERATES, THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN TO RID THE PARTY OF THE "GANG'S" FOLLOWERS WILL LIKELY SHIFT TO LOWER LEVELS. THE TONE OF HUA'S SPEECH, HOWEVER, SUGGESTS THAT THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE CAREFULLY CONTROLLED AND WILL EMPHASIZE "UNITY" RATHER THAN VINDICTIVENESS.

26. THE CALL FOR PARTY UNITY IS MANIFESTED MOST CLEARLY IN YEH'S REVISION OF MAO'S INJUNCTION TO THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS OF "DARING TO GO AGAINST THE TIDE" OF THE "CLASS" OF "CAPITALIST ROADERS" THAT MAO BELIEVED HAD PERMEATED THE PARTY. AT THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS, THE "CLASS" BECAME REDUCED OFFICIALLY TO A "TINY MINORITY" THAT COULD BE EASILY CONTROLLED. REDEFINING MAO'S INJUNCTION, YEH URGED THE PARTY TO GO AGAINST THE "TIDE" OF FACTIONALISM AND DISUNITY.

27. THE CONGRESS ALSO MOVED TO TIGHTEN UP PROCEDURES FOR ADMISSION TO AND ADVANCEMENT WITHIN THE PARTY. BROUGHT BACK WERE TWO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, ORIGINALLY ADOPTED AT THE 8TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1956, WHICH RESTORED 1) THE ONE-YEAR MANDATORY PROBATIONARY PERIOD FOR NEW MEMBERS AND 2) PARTY DISCIPLINARY COMMISSIONS. THE TWO AMENDMENTS WERE DROPPED BY THE 9TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1969 AND FACILITATED THE ADMISSION AND RAPID PROMOTION OF YOUNG RADICALS AND "MASS ORGANIZATION" REPRESENTATIVES WHO HAD COME TO PROMINENCE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. RESTOR-
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ATION OF THE TWO AMENDMENTS WILL, IN EFFECT, STIFFEN REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION TO THE PARTY AND PROVIDE A MECHANISM FOR SCREENING CADRES WHOSE RISE TO POWER HAS BEEN BASED ON IDEOLOGICAL FERVOR RATHER THAN TECHNICAL QUALIFICATIONS.

28. FOREIGN POLICY

29. WHILE THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, HUA'S FOUR-HOUR SPEECH DID INCLUDE A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF FOREIGN POLICY. HE CLEARLY INDICATED THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGES IN THE LINE ESTABLISHED BY MAO AND CHOU IN THE EARLY 1970S.

30. HE SCORED THE USSR'S "AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION," AND REAFFIRMED PEKING'S INTENT TO CONTINUE ITS CRITICISM OF SOVIET "REVISIONISM." HE CLAIMED THAT, WHILE CHINA HAS ALWAYS WANTED NORMAL STATE RELATIONS, MOSCOW "HAS NOT SHOWN ONE IOTA OF GOOD FAITH" ON SUCH ISSUES AS THE BORDER DISPUTE.

31. HUA SAID THAT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE REMAINS THE BASIS FOR SINO-US RELATIONS, AND THAT NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WOULD REQUIRE US ACCEPTANCE OF PEKING'S CONDITIONS ON TAIWAN. HE DID NOT, HOWEVER, EXPLICITLY MAKE NORMALIZATION A PRE-CONDITION FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS, WHICH, HE SAID, COULD OCCUR IF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WAS "CARRIED OUT IN EARNEST."

32. HUA'S STRONG DEFENSE OF CHINA'S OPENING TO THE US AND OF MAO'S "THREE WORLDS" THESIS WAS PEKING'S MOST

AUTHORITATIVE RESPONSE THUS FAR TO ALBANIA'S RECENT PUBLIC CRITICISM OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY. HUA'S MESSAGE WAS CLEAR: THOSE WHO FAIL TO UNDERSTAND THE ADVANTAGES OF TEMPORARY ALLIANCES WITH ERSTWHILE ENEMIES "FAIL TO CONFIDENTIAL

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UNDERSTAND EVEN A PARTICLE OF MARXISM." END TEXT. VANCE

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 206570

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 206570 ACTION ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIP POSTS NATO NEW DELHI OSLO OTTAWA PARIS ROME BELGRADE BONN BRUSSELS BUCHAREST COPENHAGEN ISLAMABAD LONDON DATED AUG 30:

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THE SUCCESSION OF HUA TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP. THEY ALSO SIGNIFICANTLY REVISED THE LINE, HOWEVER, TO STRESS MORE ORDERLINESS, UNITY, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

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4. CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDERWENT A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW THAT REVEALED NO CHANGES FROM THE POLICY ESTABLISHED BY MAO AND CHOU IN THE EARLY 1970S. CHINA WILL CONTINUE TO CRITICIZE SOVIET "REVISIONISM," FOSTER GREATER UNITY AMONG "THIRD WORLD" NATIONS AGAINST SUPERPOWER IMPERIALISM, AND SEEK CLOSER TIES WITH THE US UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

5. THE STANDING COMMITTEE--THE PARTY'S TOP LEADERSHIP BODY--NOW INCLUDES ECONOMIC SPECIALIST LI HSIEN-NIEN AND SECURITY CHIEF WANG TUNG-HSING IN ADDITION TO HUA, YEH, AND TENG, A LINEUP THAT APPEARS BALANCED AND MAY PROVE STABLE DESPITE THE DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS OF HUA AND TENG. MANIFESTING AN ALMOST EMBARRASSED AWARENESS OF THE EFFECTS OF PAST TURBULENCE, THE LEADERSHIP NOW SEEMS INTENT ON AVOIDING RIVALRIES AND ON DELIVERING ON ITS STATED GOALS OF SOCIAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. END SUMMARY

6. BEGIN TEXT. CHINA'S 11TH PARTY CONGRESS WAS CONVENED FROM AUGUST 12-18 TO FILL THE RANKS OF A LEADERSHIP DECIMATED BY DEATHS AND PURGES, AND TO CONFIRM OFFICIALLY THE MAIN POLICY DIRECTIONS SET IN MOTION BY THE REGIME LAST
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YEAR AFTER THE FALL OF THE RADICALS. FOREMOST AMONG THESE GOALS WERE POLITICAL STABILITY, PARTY CONSOLIDATION AND RECTIFICATION, AND RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IMPLICITLY, THE CONGRESS WAS ALSO CONFRONTED WITH THE TASK OF DEFINING THE LEGACY OF MAO, WHO IN THE PAST HAD SIDED WITH THE "GANG OF FOUR" IN OPPOSITION TO THESE POLICIES, BUT WHO NEVERTHELESS HAD CHOSEN HUA KUO-FENG AS HIS SUCCESSOR.

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8. THE LEADERSHIP

9. THE NEW POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE LINEUP ANNOUNCED BY PEKING MANIFESTED A RETURN TO PROMINENCE OF PROFESSIONAL BUREAUCRATS AND THE MILITARY, AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LEFTISTS AND "MASS ORGANIZATION" REPRESENTATIVES WHO GAINED POWER AT THE 9TH AND 10TH PARTY CONGRESSES. IT ALSO REFLECTED THE REGIME'S CONCERN FOR REESTABLISHING A SENSE OF PREDICTABILITY AND RATIONALISM TO POLITICAL PROCESSES.

10. HUA WAS UNEQUIVOCALLY ENDORSED AS THE PARTY'S LEADER, AND HE DELIVERED THE MAJOR ADDRESS. HOWEVER, THE RECENTLY REHABILITATED TENG HSIAO-P'ING, NOW NO. 3 IN THE PARTY'S HIERARCHY, ALSO PERFORMED MAJOR ASSIGNMENTS AT THE CONGRESS, ACTING AS PRESIDING OFFICER AND DELIVERING THE CLOSING ADDRESS--TASKS PERFORMED BY MAO AT PREVIOUS CONGRESSES.

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12. ROUNDING OUT THE NEW POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE, THE PARTY'S HIGHEST RULING BODY, ARE LI HSIEN-NIEN AND WANG TUNG-HSING. LI, CHINA'S FOREMOST ECONOMIC EXPERT AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF THE LATE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI, WILL

LIKELY PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN CHINA'S MODERNIZATION PROGRAM. WANG'S POSITION OF INTERNAL SECURITY CHIEF, AND HIS PROMINENTLY FEATURED TASK AT THE CONGRESS OF CHECKING DELEGATES' CREDENTIALS, INDICATE A LIKELY ROLE FOR HIM OF PARTY POLICEMAN. IN THAT CAPACITY HE WILL HAVE A POTENTIALLY POWERFUL ROLE IN THE PARTY'S EFFORTS TOWARD RECTIFICATION AND LEADERSHIP BUILDING.

13. IN CONTRAST TO THE LEADERSHIP LINEUP OF THE 9TH AND 10TH PARTY CONGRESSES, THE CURRENT LIST OF POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS EMPHASIZES SELECTION FOR PROVEN MERIT, NOT REVOLUTIONARY ZEAL. THE LEADERSHIP CLEARLY HAS SOUGHT TO REINSTITUTIONALIZE A SENSE OF ORDERLY ADVANCEMENT AND LEGITIMACY IN THE SELECTION PROCESS. POLITBURO POSITIONS ARE NOW INTENDED TO SYMBOLIZE REWARDS FOR HIGH ACHIEVEMENT, REWARDS NOT TO BE GIVEN OR WITHDRAWN ARBITRARILY.

14. THUS, OF THE REMAINING 17 MEMBERS OF THE PREVIOUS POLITBURO, ALL BUT ONE (WU KWEI-HSIEN, AN ALTERNATE MEMBER) APPEAR ON THE NEW LIST. WU, A "MODEL WORKER" WHO ROSE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PROMINENCE AT THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS, EVIDENCED FEW LEADERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS. HER OUSTER FROM THE POLITBURO (BUT NOT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE) SERVED TO EMPHASIZE THAT ONLY "LEGITIMATE," I.E., DEMONSTRABLY QUALIFIED PERSONS, CAN HOLD POLITBURO POSITIONS.

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16. THE PROMOTION OF TWO OF THE FOUR FORMER ALTERNATE MEMBERS (SU CHEN-HUA AND NI CHIH-FU) ALSO TESTIFIES TO THE REGIME'S DESIRE TO EMPHASIZE ORDERLY ADVANCEMENT. AS CANDIDATES FOR FULL MEMBERSHIP IN THEIR FORMER POSITIONS AS ALTERNATES, THE TWO WOULD HAVE EXPECTED TO BE PROMOTED. THE FAILURE OF SAIFUDIN, MINORITY GROUP REPRESENTATIVE, TO ADVANCE IS PROBABLY EXPLAINED BY THE PRIOR CLAIM OF ULANFU--ALSO A MINORITY GROUP REPRESENTATIVE--TO FULL MEMBERSHIP.

17. THE MERITOCRATIC NATURE OF THE SELECTION PROCESS IS DEMONSTRATED BY THE BACKGROUNDS OF THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO. THE FIVE NEW APPOINTEES APPEAR TO OWE THEIR PROMOTIONS TO HAVING ACHIEVED TOP POSITIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE FIELDS OF EXPERTISE (FANG I: SCIENCE; YU CH'IU-LI: PLANNING; CHANG T'ING-FA: AIR FORCE; KENG PIAO:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS; AND P'ENG CH'UNG: PROVINCIAL POLITICS). THE SAME CAN BE SAID OF THE TWO NEW ALTERNATES, CHAO TZU-YANG (PROVINCIAL POLITICS) AND CH'EN MU-HUA (WHO CLEARLY SYMBOLIZED THE MERIT PROCESS BY WHICH WOMEN "SHOULD" ADVANCE, IN CONTRAST TO CHIANG CH'ING AND THE DROPPED WU KWEI-HSIEN).

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18. THE 11TH CONGRESS' EMPHASIS ON ORDERLY ADVANCEMENT UP THE HIERARCHY UNDOUBTEDLY DRAWS STRONG SUPPORT FROM ALL THE POLITBURO MEMBERS. AFTER THE TURMOIL OF THE PAST 11 YEARS, THE PARTY, ARMY, AND GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACIES NEED TO KNOW THERE IS A PREDICTABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOB PERFORMANCE AND ADVANCEMENT OR DISMISSAL. THE NEW POLITBURO APPOINTMENTS HONOR VETERANS WHO HAVE WORKED THEIR WAY UP, OR WERE UNFAIRLY DISMISSED AFTER WORKING THEIR WAY UP EARLIER.

19. THE GROUP OF VETERANS AT THE TOP IS NOW TOO BROAD TO BE TIED TO TENG ALONE, THOUGH ALL SHARE SIMILAR CONCERNS ABOUT WHERE CHINA SHOULD GO, AND NONE BEARS ANY LOVE FOR THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. OF THE NEW POLITBURO APPOINTMENTS, ONLY CHAO TZU-YANG, ULANFU, AND PERHAPS CHANG T'ING-FA SEEM TO HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY LINKED TO TENG OR HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES. OTHER NEW APPOINTMENTS APPEAR TO BE LINKED TO YEH AND LI HSIEN-NIEN. TENG WILL HAVE YEH'S AND LI'S SUPPORT ON MANY ISSUES, BUT THE THREE CANNOT BE CONSIDERED TO BE A UNIFIED VETERAN CORE. THE POTENTIAL SPACE BETWEEN TENG ON ONE HAND AND YEH AND LI ON THE OTHER WILL BE IMPORTANT TO HUA, WHO THOUGH APPARENTLY

AGREED UPON BY ALL AS THE CHOSEN SUCCESSOR TO MAO, REMAINS WITHOUT ANY REAL POWER BASE OF HIS OWN.

20. THE LEADERSHIP, AFTER 11 YEARS OF POLITICAL TURBULENCE, APPEARS INTERESTED IN FOCUSING ON ITS PROCLAIMED GOALS OF SOCIAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. IN HIS SHORT CLOSING ADDRESS TENG MAY WELL HAVE SUMMED UP THE SPIRIT OF THE CONGRESS. HE CALLED ON HIS COLLEAGUES TO RENOUNCE "BOASTING" AND "ARROGANCE," AND "FACE UP TO THE REALITY OF MANY PROBLEMS TO BE SURMOUNTED."

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21. DOMESTIC POLICY

22. IN HIS REPORT ON PARTY WORK, HUA WENT TO GREAT--AND SOMETIMES TORTUOUS--LENGTHS TO PRAISE MAO'S CONTRIBUTIONS AND TO CLEAR HIM OF ANY ASSOCIATION WITH THE RADICALS. QUOTING SELECTIVELY, HUA "PROVED" THAT MAO:

(A)--LAUNCHED THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND SUBSEQUENT CAMPAIGNS SPECIFICALLY TO RID THE PARTY OF LIU SHAO-CH'I, LIN PIAO, AND THE "GANG OF FOUR"; AND

(B)--APPROVED OF TENG AND OTHER VETERAN CADRES DENOUNCED BY THE RADICALS, AND OF THEIR POLICIES OF STABILITY, UNITY, AND ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

23. HUA CAPPED THIS REMARKABLE HISTORICAL REVISION WITH A DECLARATION THAT THE PURGE OF THE "GANG" HAD BROUGHT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION TO A "TRIUMPHANT CONCLUSION."

24. ALL THREE OF CHINA'S TOP LEADERS SET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS CHINA'S FOREMOST PRIORITY FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HUA CALLED FOR A "NEW LEAP FORWARD" FOLLOWING THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL MODELS OF TACHAI AND TACH'ING. UNDERSCORING THIS GOAL, THE REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION FOR THE FIRST TIME CONTAINS AN AMENDMENT EXPLICITLY ENDORSING CHOU EN-LAI'S GOAL OF ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY.

25. ALSO HIGH AMONG THE PRIORITIES ARE PARTY AND LEADERSHIP BUILDING, CONSOLIDATION, AND RECTIFICATION. WITH TOP CENTRAL, PROVINCIAL, AND MILITARY POSITIONS NOW IN THE HANDS OF THE MODERATES, THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN TO RID THE PARTY OF THE "GANG'S" FOLLOWERS WILL LIKELY SHIFT TO LOWER LEVELS. THE TONE OF HUA'S SPEECH, HOWEVER, SUGGESTS THAT THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE CAREFULLY CONTROLLED AND WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

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EMPHASIZE "UNITY" RATHER THAN VINDICTIVENESS.

26. THE CALL FOR PARTY UNITY IS MANIFESTED MOST CLEARLY IN YEH'S REVISION OF MAO'S INJUNCTION TO THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS OF "DARING TO GO AGAINST THE TIDE" OF THE "CLASS" OF "CAPITALIST ROADERS" THAT MAO BELIEVED HAD PERMEATED THE PARTY. AT THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS, THE "CLASS" BECAME REDUCED OFFICIALLY TO A "TINY MINORITY" THAT COULD BE EASILY CONTROLLED. REDEFINING MAO'S INJUNCTION, YEH URGED THE PARTY TO GO AGAINST THE "TIDE" OF FACTIONALISM AND DISUNITY.

27. THE CONGRESS ALSO MOVED TO TIGHTEN UP PROCEDURES FOR ADMISSION TO AND ADVANCEMENT WITHIN THE PARTY. BROUGHT BACK WERE TWO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, ORIGINALLY ADOPTED AT THE 8TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1956, WHICH RESTORED 1) THE ONE-YEAR MANDATORY PROBATIONARY PERIOD FOR NEW MEMBERS AND 2) PARTY DISCIPLINARY COMMISSIONS. THE TWO AMENDMENTS WERE DROPPED BY THE 9TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1969 AND FACILITATED THE ADMISSION AND RAPID PROMOTION OF YOUNG RADICALS AND "MASS ORGANIZATION" REPRESENTATIVES WHO HAD

COME TO PROMINENCE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. RESTORATION OF THE TWO AMENDMENTS WILL, IN EFFECT, STIFFEN REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION TO THE PARTY AND PROVIDE A MECHANISM FOR SCREENING CADRES WHOSE RISE TO POWER HAS BEEN BASED ON IDEOLOGICAL FERVOR RATHER THAN TECHNICAL QUALIFICATIONS.

28. FOREIGN POLICY

29. WHILE THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, HUA'S FOUR-HOUR SPEECH DID INCLUDE A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF FOREIGN POLICY. HE CLEARLY INDICATED THAT THE AGENDA WAS NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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CATED THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGES IN THE LINE ESTABLISHED BY MAO AND CHOU IN THE EARLY 1970S.

30. HE SCORED THE USSR'S "AGGRESSION AND EXPANSION," AND REAFFIRMED PEKING'S INTENT TO CONTINUE ITS CRITICISM OF SOVIET "REVISIONISM." HE CLAIMED THAT, WHILE CHINA HAS ALWAYS WANTED NORMAL STATE RELATIONS, MOSCOW "HAS NOT SHOWN ONE IOTA OF GOOD FAITH" ON SUCH ISSUES AS THE BORDER DISPUTE.

31. HUA SAID THAT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE REMAINS THE BASIS FOR SINO-US RELATIONS, AND THAT NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WOULD REQUIRE US ACCEPTANCE OF PEKING'S CONDITIONS ON TAIWAN. HE DID NOT, HOWEVER, EXPLICITLY MAKE NORMALIZATION A PRE-CONDITION FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS, WHICH, HE SAID, COULD OCCUR IF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WAS "CARRIED OUT IN EARNEST."

32. HUA'S STRONG DEFENSE OF CHINA'S OPENING TO THE US AND OF MAO'S "THREE WORLDS" THESIS WAS PEKING'S MOST

AUTHORITATIVE RESPONSE THUS FAR TO ALBANIA'S RECENT PUBLIC CRITICISM OF CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY. HUA'S MESSAGE WAS CLEAR: THOSE WHO FAIL TO UNDERSTAND THE ADVANTAGES OF TEMPORARY ALLIANCES WITH ERSTWHILE ENEMIES "FAIL TO UNDERSTAND EVEN A PARTICLE OF MARXISM." END TEXT.
VANCE UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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